614 /1/ Cancuc is a Tzeltal town of Chiapas, Mexico, whose
[101] social organization is based on exogamous patrilineal clans.
[176] These clans are intimately related to: 1) the nagual or guardian
[551] spirit, which is given the name of lab among the Indians of this
[613] region; 2) the native surnames that constitute the lineages within
[621] the clans; 3) the "barrios," as the Spanish chroniclers called the endogamous tribal subdivisions (called calpulli among the Aztecs and culibal in Cancuc); 4) the kinship system; and 5) the behavior.

614 All the individuals belonging to a clan consider themselves
• 601 "legitimate siblings" /Sp. "hermanos legítimos"/, using the terms that designate this class of relatives. This theoretical consanguineous kinship is expressed by means of the word chapomal -- a Cancuquero /a person from Cancuc/ calls another "brother" be-
614 cause he is his chapomal. This form of usage is indicative of
601 common ancestry, something that we were not able to clarify, as
124 our questions on this point only received answers that showed that
829 they had lost any notion of a real or mythical ancestor. Our informants invariably explained this situation with the expressions: "it is the custom," "San Juan /Saint John/ (Patron Saint of Cancuc) ordered it so," or "it was ordered by Manuel (God)." What does constitute a clear concept in the minds of all is that "formerly" each clan lived in a cave, from which its members went out in the form of human beings to populate the earth and in which lived the naguales, or lab, that bound them to their place of origin.
[775] The soul came back to this cave after death. There are as many caves as the number of clans.

614 The children belonged to the paternal clan. A woman who marries does not become a member of the clan of her husband.

/2/ Exogamy is strictly respected; persons belonging to the same clan never marry each other.

[591] The clans are not local, as their members live in all of the places and rancherías.

[178] At present the clans lack chiefs, this institution having dis-
[669] appeared about 30 years ago, according to all our information, when the zone that we are studying underwent a chaotic period due to political revolts.

/7 cont./

621 the harvests of all on the appointed days, and collect the taxes
622 on the lands of the culibal, which they take to the seat of the
[651] municipality of Ocosingo, from which Cancuc depends in the capacity of municipal agency. An order given by a chief is obeyed without discussion by all the members of the correspond-
[614] ing culibal. The men of each culibal participate in the local government in equal number and category, just as also in the filling of religious positions, the clans always taking turns.

/8/ Kinship System

601 Below we shall see the kinship system, intimately related to the social organization based on exogamous patrilineal clans.

601 1948

Kinship Terms of Cancuc*

*This list presents the kinship terms with their significant primaries /Sp. primarios/. Some have the possessive prefix of the first person, but we have preferred to retain this form because this is how they are obtained in the genealogies and how they are heard in the common language in the forms of usage and because we use the charts of EGO, which are the ones of more common use. Due to the lack of printing types representing the phonemic signs, we have chosen the Spanish orthography.

601

| | |
|---|---|
| bankil . . . . . | a man's older brother |
| xibel . . . . . | a woman's older brother |
| uix . . . . . | older sister; father's sister |
| kitsín . . . . . | younger siblings of both sexes |
| tat . . . . . | father |
| me . . . . . | mother |
| nichán . . . . . | a man's children |
| kaal . . . . . | a woman's children |

/8 cont./

601

| | |
|---|---|
| ta-jún | father's brother |
| mee-jún | mother's sister |
| nicha-jún | a man's brother's children |
| kaal-jún | a woman's sister's children |
| kichán | mother's brother; a man's sister's children |
| cha-mam | a man's grandchildren |
| kil-al | a woman's grandchildren |
| mam | grandfather |
| meel-kuj | grandmother |
| mamalal | husband |
| kinam | wife |
| bal | a man's brother-in-law |
| jauán | a woman's sister-in-law |
| mu | brother-in-law or sister-in-law of opposite sex |
| nial | son-in-law |
| kalib | daughter-in-law |
| nial-mamal | a man's father-in-law |
| kalib-mamal | a woman's father-in-law |
| nial-meel | a man's mother-in-law |
| kalib-meel | a woman's mother-in-law |

Siblings. -- In the nomenclature for this class of relatives, they take into account the age relative to EGO and the sex of the latter and that of the relative when /9/ the latter is older than EGO. A man calls his older brother bankil and a woman calls him xibel. As for the younger siblings, both the male EGO and the female one use the term kitsín without distinguishing the sex of them. The three terms above are applied to parallel cousins. Those that designate older siblings are extended to all the members of the clan to which EGO belongs.

The same terms as for siblings are used for half-siblings, adding the prefix cha-. By half-siblings are meant the children of the mother by a man from a clan different from that to which the father of EGO belongs or belonged; thus, the children of the father by another woman and the children of the mother by a man of EGO's father's clan are considered true siblings.

/9 cont./

•601 Parents-children. -- Both sexes use the same terms to designate the father (tat) and the mother (me). As for the children, we find different terms according to the sex of EGO: the children of a man are nichán, and those of a woman, kaal.

Uncles and aunts -- nephews and nieces. -- There are four terms used for this class of relatives: father's brother, mother's sister, father's sister, mother's brother. The first two are designated with the same terms with which the father and the mother are named, adding the suffix -jún; thus we have ta-jún for the father's brother and mee-jún for the mother's sister. The stepfather and stepmother are also designated in the same way. On the other hand, the father's sister is also the sister of EGO -- older or younger, taking into account her age in relation to EGO and not in relation to the age of the father of EGO -- being designated with the terms suitable for this class of relatives. The mother's brother is designated by the term kichán, the same as his male descendants through the male line, there being a tendency to apply it to all the members of the maternal clan.

With respect to the nephews and nieces, we distinguish between parallel and cross, the first being the children of a man's brother and the children of a woman's sister, and the second being the children of a man's sister and the children of a woman's brother. The parallel nephews and nieces are designated with the same terms with which one's own children are named, adding the suffix -jún, as are the stepchildren. With regard to the cross-nephews and cross-nieces, we find differences based on the sex of EGO and the sex of the relative of the connection. A /10/ man calls the children of his sister kichán, without distinguishing their sex, extending the term to the children of the women of his clan, while a woman calls the children of her brother in the same manner as her own brothers.

Cousins. -- Here we also find a marked difference between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, the first being the children of the father's brother and the children of the mother's sister, and the second, the children of the father's sister and the children of the mother's brother. The parallel cousins are named in the same manner as own brothers and sisters, making distinctions with

/10 cont./

•601 respect to the sex of EGO, the sex of the relative, and the age relative to EGO, the same as for this class of relatives. With regard to the cross-cousins, we find differences according to whether it is a matter of a male or female EGO. A man designates the children of the father's sister with the term kichán, like the sister's children, that is to say, he calls nephews and nieces and cross-cousins by the same term, which is consistent with the act of calling father's sister sister. For this same reason a woman calls the children of the father's sister kaal-jún, like the children of her own sister. The children of the mother's brother are named in the same manner as the mother's siblings, that is to say, distinguishing the sex of the relative: the son is designated by the same term that is used for the mother's brother (kichán), and the daughter by the term applied to the mother's sister (mee-jún).

Grandparents-grandchildren. -- The term that designates both the paternal grandfather and the maternal one is mam, without distinguishing the sex of EGO. The grandmothers are designated by the term meel-kuj in the same manner. The siblings of the grandparents receive the same title, as do the great-grandparents too. The reciprocals are: cha-mam or mam (grandchildren of a man) and kil-al (grandchildren of a woman); the great-grandchildren are named in like manner, as are the grandchildren of siblings. Frequently an old person applies these terms to a child and vice versa, even if this relationship is not maintained between them.

System of affinity. -- Kinam designates the wife, and mamalal the husband, these terms being used exclusively for such relatives. The wife of the father's brother is designated with the same term as the mother's sister, and the husband of the latter by the same one as the father's brother. The husband of the father's sister is designated with the terms bal (brother-in-law of a man) /11/ and mu (brother-in-law of a woman), according to the sex of EGO. The wife of the mother's brother is called simply meechũ or meetik, which means "lady" /Sp. "señora"/, as she is not considered a relative. In case this lady belongs to the clan of EGO, she is called uix or uixín (sister), and the mother's brother is called bal

/11 cont./

60 and mu (brother-in-law) instead of kichán, preference being given to the relationship through the paternal lineage or clan over the term corresponding to this consanguineous relative, but of the maternal clan. This rule is applied to any relative by affinity, with the exception of parents-in-law, sons-in-law, and daughters-in-law, even though in referring to these relatives one hears said: "my mother-in-law is my sister" or "my father-in-law is my chapomal." The terms that designate the son-in-law (nial) and the daughter-in-law (kalib) are used by both EGOS; but not their reciprocals, which not only take into account the sex of the relative, but also the sex of EGO. These reciprocals are compound forms, formed by the above plus the suffixes mamal (old man) and meel (old woman) for father-in-law and mother-in-law, respectively: nial-mamal (father-in-law) and nial-meel (mother-in-law) for parents-in-law of a male EGO, and kalib-mamal (father-in-law) and kalib-meel (mother-in-law) for parents-in-law of a female EGO. The brothers of parents-in-law are named in the same way, even though there is a tendency to limit this nomenclature to the collateral parents-in-law, calling the father-in-law's sister "sister-in-law," and the mother-in-law's brother simply "gentleman" /Sp. "señor"/ (tatik), the same as a non-relative. The terms used in the designation of the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are three: a man calls his wife's brother and his sister's husband bal; a woman calls her husband's sister and her brother's wife jauán, and mu is used by a man and a woman to designate a sibling-in-law of the opposite sex, that is to say, wife's sister, a woman's sister's husband, the husband's brother, and a man's brother's wife. The terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are extended so far as to include all of the members of the clan to which the spouse belongs.

[614]
[613] In this kinship system we see how the nomenclature is primordially based on the grouping into exogamous clans, stressing the paternal and maternal lineages so far as to include all the members of the two clans to which these lineages belong. The parallel and cross lines are markedly differentiated. We can say that there is fusion between lineal and collateral relatives --

/11 cont./

601 father and his brother, mother and her sister -- using for this class of relatives the /12/ same terms, even though making use of a suffix that distinguishes real parents from the classificatory ones, and in the same way among their reciprocals, as we have noted above. In ordinary conversation the suffix may be eliminated, thus confusing the real relatives with the classificatory ones. The children of these relatives are all brothers and sisters among themselves.

601 This type of system seems to have its origin in the one
611 known by the name of "Omaha," whose most outstanding characteristic is the classification of the male descendants of the mother's brother, through the male line, with the mother's brother, and the classification of the female descendants, through the male line, of this same relative with the mother's sister. Nevertheless, in Cancuc there is a marked tendency to designate by means of the term kichán both the male and female descendants of the mother's brother, through the male line, without any distinction of sex, which, according to the rule of the uniform reciprocals, brings with it on the part of a female EGO the designation of kichán for the children of the father's sister, in place of the kaal-jún used by a woman for this class of relatives. Furthermore, we are faced with the fact that the descendants of the mother's brother through the female line are no longer considered as relatives; that is to say, the descendants of a woman who is designated by the term mee-jún, and who, according to the rule of uniform descent, should
601 receive the title of "siblings," are not considered as such. This
614 disequilibrium tends to disappear with the elimination of the term mee-jún for this class of relatives and the extension of the term kichán for the designation of the same, embracing all the members of the maternal clan, that is to say, all those whom the mother of EGO calls "brother" and "sister." The term kichán, which formerly denoted "man of my mother's clan," would now mean "every person of my mother's clan."

[114] We have not been able to obtain the kinship terms corresponding to the descendants of the grandparents' siblings, since in the genealogies that we possess these terms do not appear because of having been replaced by those applied to clan siblings, or chapomales, or to members of the maternal clan, due to marriages concluded with persons belonging to these clans, there existing, as we have already indicated, a preference for these terms over those.

1: Guiteras Holmes--15 E-5 (1945-1946)1947 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

/13/

•601

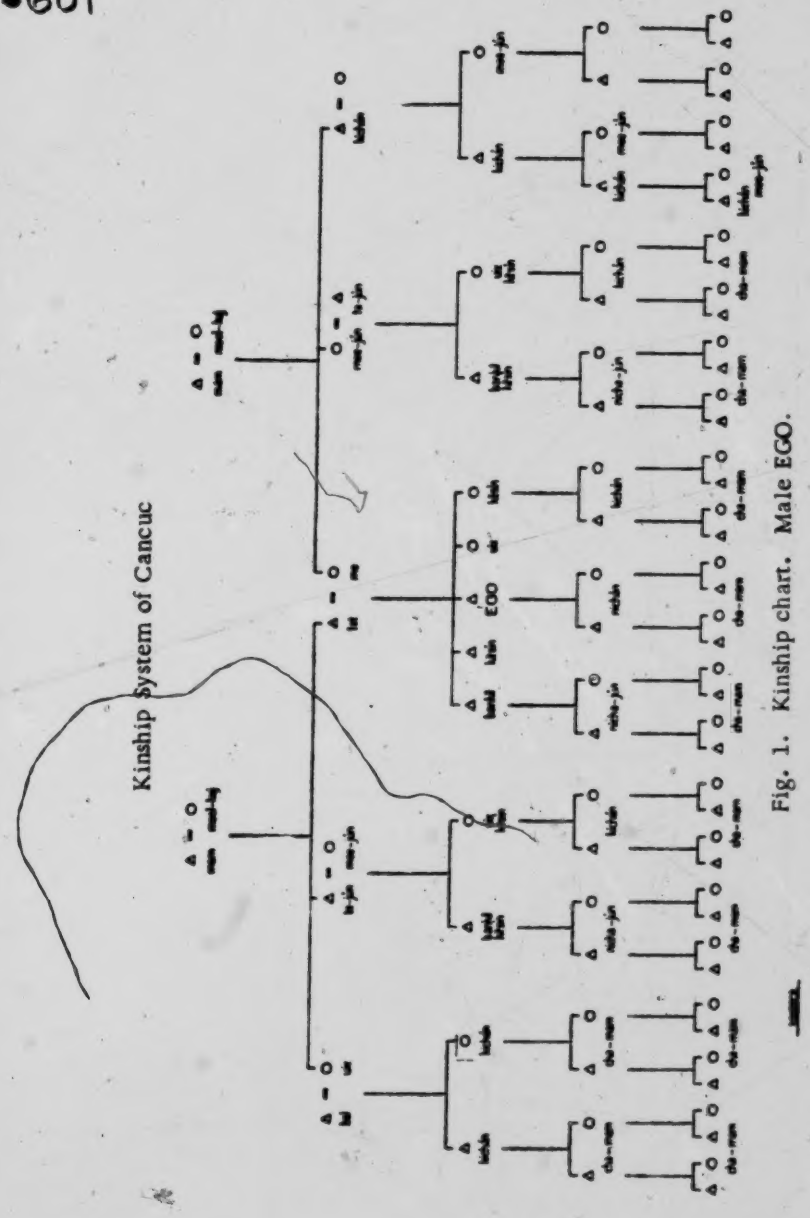
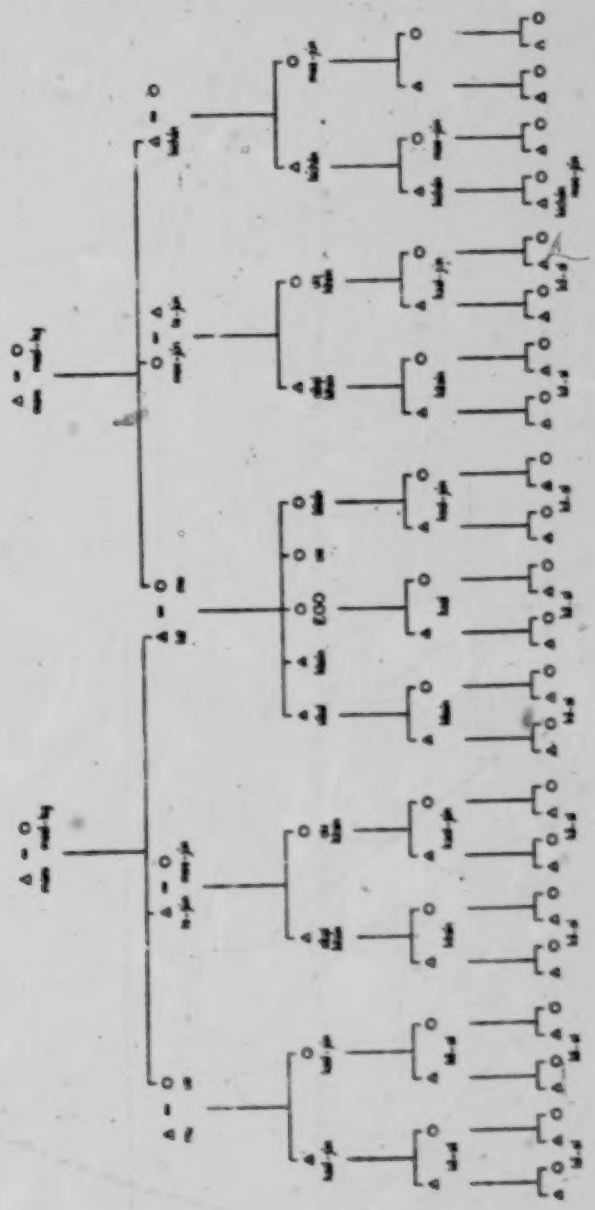



Fig. 1. Kinship chart. Male EGO.

/14/

•601




Kinship System of Cancuc

Fig. 2. Kinship chart. Female EGO.

/15/

601

Kinship System of Cancuc

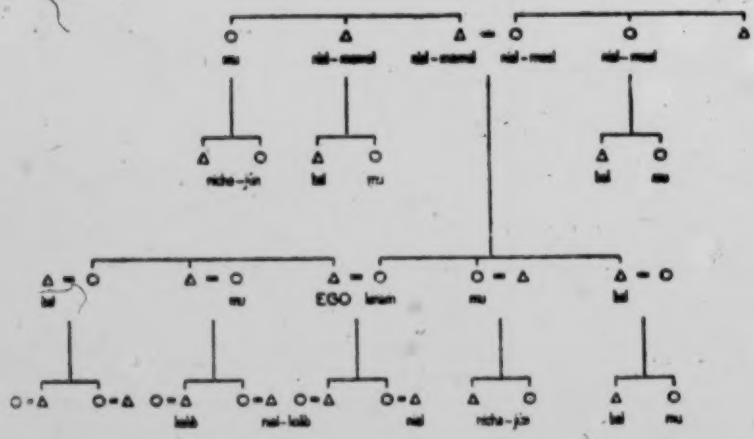



Fig. 3. Kinship chart for affinity. Male EGO.

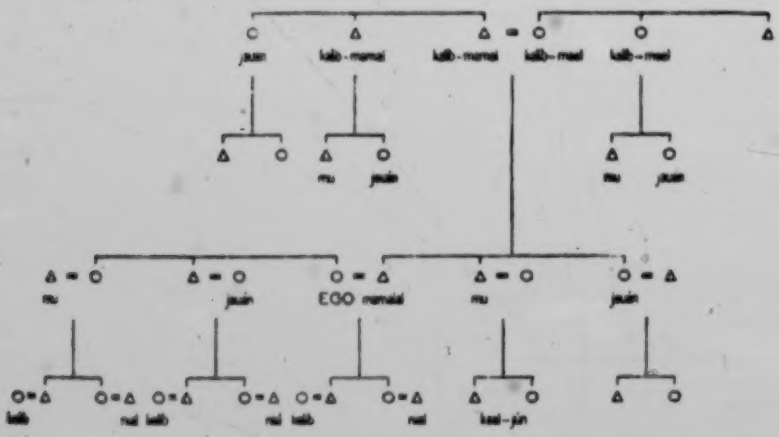



Fig. 4. Kinship chart for affinity. Female EGO.

/16/

601 614 The kinship terms, excepting those that extend to all the members of a clan, do not seem to apply to persons outside of those included in the charts (Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4). The terms that designate older siblings are applied to all the members of the paternal clan without taking into account the principle of generation or the age relative to EGO. This custom tends to be applied even among descendants of the same grandparents: an old woman greets the granddaughter of her paternal uncle, calling her uix (older sister) instead of the corresponding kitsín (younger sister), the young girl using the identical reciprocal in her reply. We can say that there is a tendency toward the elimination of the principle of generation and that of age relative to EGO even among close relatives, using only one term for sister, a woman's brother, and a man's brother (uix, xibel, and bankil), except within the limits of the elemental family.

601 602 614 An individual, when born, is related to the members of two clans: the paternal one, which is his own, and the maternal one. Upon contracting marriage, he establishes new relationships, applying, as we have already shown, the terms which designate brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law to all the members of the clan of the spouse. In this manner a Cancuquero can be related to all the members of the tribe or native group, because at present only three clans exist, one of which may be the clan of EGO, another the maternal clan, and the other one the clan of the spouse. This is not always the case, because an individual may have married within the clan of his mother, in which case his kichanes and his siblings-in-law belong to the same clan, preferring then the use [609] of the word bal to that of kichán. The members of the non-related clan receive the title of tatik and meetik (gentleman and lady).

587 587 614 614 595 The clans regulate marriage. Preferred clans with respect to the selection of a spouse do not seem to exist. Upon the death of the wife a man may marry again within the same clan or in the other. One of our informants had three successive wives belonging to the same clan, but this is exceptional. In the three cases of polygyny known to us the wives were not sisters: in one case the

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.464-A] Teklum

682 683 627 to who did it. The consultations with curers prior to the death of the supposed victims of a witch will be introduced as evidence. (Some degree of consensus may have been built up beforehand, in witch-killings, by the public broadcast of accusations noted above.[5]) The focus of the discussion is not so much on who killed the dead man, but whether he was indeed a witch. This kind of mock trial occurs [953] after every funeral, since it must be decided [952] who caused the sickness. Emotions run very [2973] high as the liquor is passed around, and accusations are made, sometimes against those present. It was after a funeral that one man killed his son (not included in Table 1) for accusing him of having caused the death of the son's child, who was being buried.

682 [521] In the weeks following a homicide, it is discussed at all the drinking sessions in the homes or in the town hall. Eventually an authoritative version begins to emerge. Those who have defended the victim then keep silent, and the 682 683 affair "rests in peace." Avenging the death of a man judged to have been a witch, so far as I know, has never been done. In one case (no. 36, [627] Table 1) the widow of a man killed as a witch vigorously denied the legitimacy of the act and built up a case against the killer. She spread word that it was without doubt the dead man's son by a prior marriage. When the son was killed shortly after (case 37, Table 1), everyone assumed that he had been killed by the widow's son by *her* prior marriage. However, the authoritative version concerning the second killing was that it was an accident: he had been mistaken for his brother, whom the killer was after because of rivalry over a girl.

682 183 *Rules for Surviving*

The patterning of the selection of victims and the circumstances of homicide provide the basis for formulating a set of rules that can 682 ensure survival. The long-range rules of sur- 539 vival, in the words of an elder at the occasion of 183 the death of his godchild, are:

*lekoñ kak'o ta kventa meʔtal*
I pay respect to my elders.

*hun ku kikts'in kalničan*
• [601] I greet my younger brothers and my children (classificatory extension of kinship terms).

*spisil kak' ta kventa*
To all I give respect.

*haʔ hil lekotik. Ma taltik milel me taltik čamel*

613 [428] have no interest in the land is preference given to the chapomales of other lineages. The importance of the lineage is stressed again during events such as curing ceremonies, conflicts, weddings, burials, fiestas, or banquets, where members of the same lineage should be invited first, then the chapomales.

601 The Omaha type of terminology still predominates in the more conservative municipios, where the same names are used for children of the father's sister as well as for children of the ego's sister, while children of the mother's brother are considered to be uncles and aunts on the matrilineal side (Murdock, 1949, p. 102; Guiteras Holmes, 1947, pp. 13–15; J. Nash, 1959, pp. 4–7).

The name *kichan*, given to the mother's brother, is also given to all the patrilineal descendants, stressing the concept that they are regarded as persons from another clan.

The most common kin terms collected in Cancuc by Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 8) and in Oxchuc by Siverts (1955, pp. 16–20) are practically the same.

| *Tzeltal* | *English* |
|---|---|
| Bankil | older brother of a man |
| Xibel | older brother of a woman |
| uish | older sister; father's sister |
| Kitzin | youngest brother or sister |
| Tat | father |
| Me | mother |
| Nichán | a man's children |
| Kaal | a woman's children |
| Ta-jun | father's brother |
| Mee-jun | mother's sister |
| Nicha-jun | the children of a man's brother |
| Kaal-jun | the children of a woman's sister |
| Kichán | mother's brother; children of a man's sister |
| Cha-mam | a man's grandchildren |
| Kil-al | a woman's grandchildren |
| Mam | grandfather |
| Meel-kuj | grandmother |
| Mamalal | husband |
| Kinam | wife |
| Bal | a man's brother-in-law |
| Jauan | a woman's sister-in-law |
| Mu | siblings-in-law of opposite sex |

[P. 215-B]

[Text continues on p. 216-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

601

| | |
|---|---|
| Nial | son-in-law |
| Kalib | daughter-in-law |
| Nial-mamal | a man's father-in-law |
| Kalib-mamal | a woman's father-in-law |
| Nial-meel | a man's mother-in-law |
| Kalib-meel | a woman's mother-in-law |

601
576 The word *tatik* (from *tat*, 'father') is usually applied as a courtesy name to all married males, without distinction of clan or lineage. The same applies to *metik* (from *me*, 'mother'), a term applied to all married females. *Mamtik* (from *mam*, 'grandfather') is the name given to old and also to very respected people.

601
608 The ritual kinship terminology is:

| *Tzeltal* | *English* |
|---|---|
| Kumpare | compadre (GodFa of ego's children) |
| Kumale | comadre (GodMo of ego's children) |
| Jalatat | godfather |
| Jalamé | godmother |
| Jala-al | a woman's godson |
| Jala-nichan | a man's godson |

594 *Family Groups*

The nuclear family, formed by a couple and their children, is the basic pattern throughout the region.

[P. 216-B]

571 between members of the community to identify persons in refer-
551 ences--that is, persons who are not present in the conversation. From the speaker's point of view, they as unambiguously identify individuals as does naming the house in which they live. So, then, turning from a general consideration of the membership of houses, we now consider the variety of intersecting classes in terms of which the individuals in the houses may be identified. This listing will introduce the principal organizing features in the community, each of which will then receive separate treatment.

571 Terms of reference in Aguacatenango include (1) personal
551 names; (2) relationship terms--kinship, ritual kinship or
601 compadrazgo and other relationships of a more general nature;
554 (3) "role names," which identify persons in terms of characteristics other than interpersonal relationships; and certain combinations of these three types.

551 Personal names

The major subclass of the set of personal names, identifiable as Christian names, is subdivided on the basis of sex; with a few exceptions, a particular Christian name is appropriate to males or to females but not to both. Christian names may be used with a possessive prefix, e.g. /H-MARIA/, "my Maria," to refer to children of the coordinating person. They can be made diminutive by the addition of /C'IN/, "little."

Kin terms

Another class of terms of reference can be defined as kin. At the first descending (-1) generation, the basic terms are as follows:

TABLE 2

KIN, -1 GENERATION

| | Criterial Attributes | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sex of referent | Sex of co-ordinating individual | Absolute age | Relationship specified in head |
| /-*UNTIKIL/ | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ |
| /-*AL/ | ∅ | F | ∅ | L |
| /-NIC'AN/ | ∅ | M | ∅ | L |
| /-KEREM/ | M | ∅ | $A_1$ | ∅ |
| /-*AC'IX/ | F | ∅ | $A_1$ | ∅ |
| /-*ALAL/ | ∅ | ∅ | $A_2$ | ∅ |

• 601
561

Among the attributes of these terms, absolute age has two values--(1) older, and (2) younger. The absolute age indicated for /-*ALAL/ is from birth to about three years; that for /-KEREM/ and /-*AC'IX/ is from three to about sixteen years, except that the modifier /C'IN/ depresses the age of either of the latter to less than twelve.

TABLE 3

MODIFIERS KIN -1 GENERATION

601
561
562

| | Criterial Attributes | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Sex of referent | Absolute Age | Other |
| **Position 1** | | | |
| C'IN<br>Ø | Ø | despresses absolute age | |
| **Position 2** | | | |
| BA<br>CEBAL<br>etc. | Ø | Ø | specify order of birth among referent's own siblings |
| *ANZ(IL)<br>Ø | F<br>M | Ø<br>Ø | occurs only with terms showing sex of coordinating individual (i.e. /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/) |
| PATIL-K'OX<br>Ø | Ø | expresses recent vs. relative remoteness of birth | |
| KUCBIL | Ø | distinguishes "babe-in-arms" from "walking child" (with /-*ALAL/) | |

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango



• 601

Lineal relationship (L) is an attribute of only two of these terms, /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/, "own child" of a female and of a male, respectively. The special nature of these two terms is reflected in the fact that while all of the other terms in this set may occur either with or without a possessive prefix, /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/ never occur unpossessed. While /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/ always refer to own children of a particular person, each of the other terms may refer, if possessed, to the child of any parent, the parent being specified by name or possessive affix, or, if unpossessed, simply to a child with relationship unspecified.

The terms of reference at the -1 generation are often accompanied by modifiers which express differences in absolute age, birth order, or sex. These modifiers and their attributes are shown in Table 3 (p. 20).

Position 2 modifiers may be preceded by a position 1 modifier, but no more than one position 2 modifier occurs at a time.

The reciprocals of -1 Generation terms are labeled +1 Generation and are shown in Table 4 (p. 22).

As in the case of most of the terms at -1 generation, lineality-collaterality is not a criterial attribute of these terms. However, /-TAT/ and /-ME*/ are appliedmarly exclusively to own parents of the coordinating individual, while /TATA*/ and

TABLE 4

KIN, +1 GENERATION

| | Sex of Referent | Relationship specified in head |
|---|---|---|
| -TAT | M | Ø |
| -TATA* | M | Ø |
| -ME* | F | Ø |
| -NANA* | F | Ø |

/-NANA*/, though they may refer to parents, are used primarily to specify a class of persons (including collaterals, affinals, and non-kin) of the approximate age of parents.

Terms of reference at the 0 generation also lack lineality-collaterality as a criterial feature, and while they tend to refer to lineals and collaterals, they may refer to non-kin as well. The 0 generation terms are shown in Table 5 (p. 23).

Lineality-collaterality and kin-non-kin distinctions can be made in Tzeltal by using an appropriate complex term of reference. If one asks, /ME MAC'A TATA*/, "Who is the /TATA*/?," the informant may respond, /XI*LEL H-ME*/, "my mother's older brother." Lineal kin of 0 generation can be further specified as /MERO BANKIL-*ERMANO/ "true brother," or /HUN ME* HUN TAT/, "of one mother, one father." Use of these expressions to resolve ambiguity about the

TABLE 5

KIN, 0 GENERATION

• 601
[562]

| | Age relative to coordinating individual | Sex of Referent | Sex of coordinating individual | Relationship specified in head |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| -BANKIL | 0 | M | M | ∅ |
| -XI*LEL | 0 | M | F | ∅ |
| -WIX | 0 | F | M/F | ∅ |
| -IHZ'IN | Y | M/F | M/F | ∅ |

relationship of a previously mentioned individual is rare, and we are led to hypothesize that precise genealogical relations are not crucial in the use of kin terms of 0 and ± generations. Indeed, 0 and +1 generation terms without a possessive prefix are often used in combination with names or other reference terms to indicate the relative age of the referent (when he is older than the speaker). The ranking of these terms is shown in Table 6 (p. 24).

[554] The terms /TATIK/ and /ME*TIK/ are not used in reference to kin as such, but as a collective compound, /-ME*TIK + TATIK/, they may designate either "respected elders" or "curer" in the appropriate contexts.

As in the -1 generation, modifiers /C'IN/ "little" and /MUK'UL/ "big" operate in the 0 and the +1 generations to depress

TABLE 6

AGE-STATUS IN KIN TERMS

• 601 [561]

| | M | F |
|---|---|---|
| Older | TATIK | ME*TIK |
| | TATA* | NANA* |
| | TAT | ME* |
| | TAT | NAN |
| Younger | BANKIL XI*LEL | WIX |

or augment age. Thus, /X-C'IN+XI*LELAL/, "her little big-brother," is used in reference to a boy, older than his sister (who is represented by /X-/) but younger than the speaker. /MUK'UL+BANKIL/, "older brother," distinguishes an older brother much advanced in age, while /C'IN+TATA*/ may refer to an older brother of the approximate age of a parent.

The form /MUK'UL/ combines with /TAT/ and /ME*/, however, not merely to augment age, but to set apart the +2 lineal generation. The compounds and their reciprocals (the -2 generation lineals) are shown in Table 7 (p. 25).

While most terms of reference in the 0 and ± generations may be used to specify either lineally or collaterally related individuals and sometimes also affinal kin and non-kin, in the

TABLE 7

KIN, ±2 GENERATIONS

| | Generation | Sex of referent | Sex of co-ordinating individual | Relationship specified in head |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| -MUK'UL+TAT | +2 | M | M/F | L |
| -MUK'UL+ME* | +2 | F | M/F | L |
| -*IL+NIC'AN | -2 | M/F | M | L |
| -*IL+*AL | -2 | M/F | F | L |

±2 generations, the terms are applied exclusively to lineals of the coordinating individual. (Like the -1 generation terms /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/, none of these terms occurs without the possessive prefix.)

TABLE 8

AFFINAL KIN (SPOUSES)

| M | F |
|---|---|
| -MAMILAL | -*INAM |
| -WINIKUL(-WINIKIL) | -*ANZ(ELAL) |
| -MARIDO | -C'IN+*AC'IX[a] |

[a]This form is used only for a very young wife.

601 The terms of reference for affinal kin share with the ±2 generation kin terms the feature that they are not used without designating the coordinating individual by a possessive prefix. The set of alternative reciprocals used to refer to spouses is shown in Table 8 (p. 25).

The remaining terms in the set are the following:

TABLE 9

AFFINAL KIN

[562]

| | Criterial Attributes of Heads | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Sex of referent | Sex of Coordinating individual | Generation |
| -MA+NEAL | M | M | +1 |
| -ME*L+NEAL | F | M | +1 |
| -MA+*ALIB | M | F | +1 |
| -ME*L+*ALIB | F | F | +1 |
| -BAL | M | M | 0 |
| -HAWAN | F | F | 0 |
| -MU* | F | M | 0 |
| -MU* | M | F | 0 |
| -NEAL | M | M/F | -1 |
| -*ALIB | F | M/F | -1 |

• 601 The applicability of the affinal terms is limited to spouses' lineals and the respective reciprocals, lineals here defined as siblings, parents, and children. Relations other than these through some marriage tie (e.g., "brother's wife's brother," etc.) are encompassed by the terms of compadrazgo (see below).

Kin terms are often combined with each other or with per- [561] sonal names to form complex terms of reference. We have mentioned the use of the unpossessed forms of kin terms of 0 and +1 generations with names to indicate age-status of the referent, as in /TATIK TABYANO/, "Octaviano (who is a respected elder)," and /WIX MARIA/, "Maria (who is the age of an elder sister to [551] me)." Kin terms in their possessed forms are not specified by the personal name of the referent, as in the English usage, "my brother George." Further, simple possessed kin terms are not used to specify each other in a single utterance, although the identification of a person in terms of his several kin relationships to speaker and listener, or to either participant and some absent person, is common in complete conversations. (I.e., while a person may be referred to as "my brother" and as "your uncle" by the same speaker in the course of an extended conversation, the single utterance, "my brother, your uncle," does not [551] occur.) Possessed kin terms are used with personal names in complex terms which identify the referent in terms of his rela-

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551
tionship to some other absent person (this coordinating person being identified in turn by name). Examples of this kind of reference are /Y-INAM H-MA-TAT/, "my father's wife (not my mother)," /X-NIC'AN HWAN/, "Juan's child," and /S-NEAL MA TATIK HOSE GOMES/ "(respected elder) Jose Gomez' son-in-law." An alternative to the possessive prefix--which is set off by a dash from the kin term in the examples--is an expression with /YU*N/ which is used exclusively in the identification of children of the coordinating person, as in /*AC'IX YU*N PEYRO/, "the girl of Pedro (Pedro's daughter)."

A special case of this coordinating construction is the use of a personal name following /S-TAT/, "his (her) father," or /S-ME*/, "his (her) mother," as in /S-TAT PEYRO/, "Pedro's father," and /S-ME*CUS/, "Jesus' mother." This combination is distinguished by the fact that, unlike simple kin terms, it is often specified by the name of the referent, as in /S-TAT PEYRO LUTERYO/, "Pedro's father, Eleuterio." Also, in contrast to simple kin terms, it is used to specify possessed kin terms, as in /H-BANKIL S-TAT PEYRO LUTERYO/, "my brother, Pedro's father, Eleuterio," and unpossessed kin terms of the age-status set, as in /TA(T) S-TA(T)-HWAN/, "(Mr.) Juan's father." It is also used to identify a referent through a second absent person, as in /X-NIC'AN S-TAT HWAN/, "the child of the father of Juan." Whether specified by the name of the referent or not, this construction

601 551 conforms to what has been termed teknonymy in the literature. The occurrence of such an expression as /X-NIC'AN S-TAT HMAN/ led us to suppose that not any child is equally candidate for membership in the teknonymous construction. Informants agree that the child who is candidate for the said position has the attributes of "first-born child of a legitimate union who lived long enough to be named." Since the teknonymous candidate is recruited exclusively from the first position in the relative order of own children, it might be appropriate to suggest that teknonymy be hereafter distinguished on the basis of the type and degree of explicit definition of the coordinating person.

Terms of compadrazgo

601 608 The terminology of compadrazgo, ritual kinship, includes the following forms which are shown in Table 10 (p. 30). The terms /-KUMPRE/ and /KUMRE/ are self-reciprocal except for sex of referent, and thus generation is not one of their characteristics. However, /-KUMPRE/~/KUMRE/ enter into compounds with the modifiers /MUK'UL/ and /C'IN/, these modifiers serving as in kin terms of -1 generation to augment or to depress age relative to the coordinating person.

608 602 The employment of /-KUMPRE/~/KUMRE/ in reference to known siblings of speakers led to an inquiry regarding the limits of eligibility for compadrazgo relations. Informants state that a

TABLE 10

COMPADRAZGO

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| | Criterial Attributes | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Sex of referent | Sex of coordinating individual | Generation |
| -KUMPRE | M | ∅ | ∅ |
| -KUMRE | F | ∅ | ∅ |
| -NIC'AN+SNARYOS-*IHADA | ∅ | M | -1 |
| -*AL+SNARYOS-*IHADA | ∅ | F | -1 |
| -TAT+SNARYOS-PAGRINO | M | ∅ | +1 |
| -ME*+SNARYOS-MAGRINA | F | ∅ | +1 |

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602 person may establish the /-KUMPRE/ relationship with any person except his spouse, his own father, his spouse's father, and the spouses of these persons. Related individuals frequently become compadres--particularly as siblings of the father or the mother are often chosen as padrinos (godparents) of a child--and compadre relationships established at weddings (see below) involve some affinally related individuals (e.g., "brother's wife," 608 "sister's husband") for whom kin terms are reported. Where the 601 [602] person stands in a specified kin relation (e.g., /BANKIL/) to the speaker, the compadrazgo relationship assumes priority over the kin term in reference (as well as in address). These two

608 sets of terms, then, are mutually exclusive; a single term of
601 reference does not include both /H-KUMPRE/ and /H-BANKIL/, although /H-BANKIL/ may occasionally occur as an alternative term of reference succeeding /H-Kumpre/ in an interchange in which
601 the first term was unclear to the listener. However, /-KUMPRE/
608 does occur in complex terms of reference in which, like kin
551 terms, it is specified by a teknonymous construction, e.g., /H-KUMPRE S-TAT MIGEL DANYEL/, "my compadre the father of Miguel, namely Daniel." Unlike kin terms, /-KUMPRE/ does not combine with personal names in the coordinating constructions of which the teknonymous is one type (i.e., we do not find such a term as "Juan's compadre").

Alos, unlike kin terms, /-KUMPRE/ may be specified by a personal name, e.g., /H-KUMPRE BISENTI/, or by a "role" name, e.g., /H-KUMPRE PRESIDENTE/, "my compadre the president." (The terms of compadrazgo of +1 generations, relatively infrequently used, always occur alone.)

601 The terms of compadrazgo may be further specified as
608 follows:

| | / ... YU*H *IC HA*/, "of baptism" | / ... YU*H KOMPRE-MASYON/, "of confirmation" | / ... YU*H NUK-PUNKEL/, "of marriage" | / ... YU*H S*AN NINYO/, "of Christmas" |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /H-KUMPRE/ /H-KUMRE/ | x | x | x | x |
| /H-TAT+SNAKYOS/ /H-ME*+ SNAKYOS/ | x | x | * | - |
| /H-NIC'AN+SNAR-YOS/ /K-AL+ SNAKYOS/ | x | x | * | - |

Both baptism and confirmation involve ritual relationships across generations. The padrinos (H-TAT+SNAKYOS/, etc.) chosen for the child on these occasions become compadres (/-KUMPRE/ — /-KUMRE/) of the child's parents and, sometimes, of the child's paternal grandparents as well.

The traditional (in contrast to church) wedding, on the other hand, establishes no cross-generation ritual relationships. The parents and married siblings of the spouses become /-KUMPRE/ — /KUMRE/ to each other, as may even the grandparents and parents' siblings of the married pair. The newlyweds alone do not enter into this relationship with anyone present. The terms of reference to persons so related are the stated /-KUMPRE/ — /-KUMRE/,

585 608 601 602 sometimes modified by /HUK'UL/ or /C'IN/ as previously shown. When, in addition to the exchange of gifts which constitutes the traditional wedding, the couple is married in the church, a pair of padrinos (male and female) is chosen from outside the set of relatives who become compadres in the ceremony just mentioned. These people are referred to as /TAT+SNARYOS~PAGRINO/ and /-ME*+SNARYOS~MAGRINA/ by the married couple (who are called by them, respectively, /-NIC'AN+SNARYOS~IHADA/ and /-*AL+SNARYOS~*IHADA/) and as /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ (self-reciprocally) by the parents of the married partners.

796 608 The fiesta of Noche Buena establishes /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ relations, and no others, between the host of the fiesta and a few other individuals he invites to sponsor the fiesta.

Other relationship terms

571 192 There remains a set of terms which, when used with possessive prefixes, identify the referent in terms of a more general relationship to some coordinating person. These terms are as follows:

(1) /HOY/, "companion" (in reference to spouses; one who lives in the same house, including specific kin; and all of the specified kinds of companion below)

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(2) /HOY TA YAKBEL/, "drinking companion"

(3) /HOY TA *A*TEL/, "working companion"

(4) /HOY+YAXBEN/, "traveling companion"

(5) /*AMIGO/, "friend"

(6) /BESINO/ /NAHPAL NOCOL/, "neighbor"

(7) /-KONTRA/ /-*ENEMIGO/, "enemy"

(8) /-*AHWAL/, "boss"

Examination of genealogical data/ data as to residence, and compadrazgo relations reveals (as might be inferred from the apparent meaning of /HOY/) that the same referent may occupy more than a single one of these associative roles at the same time as well as be kin and/or compadre to the coordinating individual, though in any given reference term only one such identification will be employed. Though formally mutually exclusive (as in the less general case of kin and compadrazgo terms), all of these may intersect in the same individual.

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[551]
[608]

These general relationship terms combine with names, terms of compadrazgo, and teknonymous constructions, both in terms where the second form specifies the first, e.g. /HOYTIK SIRIL HWARES/, "our companion Cirilo Juarez," and in terms where the second form refers to a cocrdinating person, /S-HOY S-MAGRINA/, "her madrina's companion." The general relationship terms share with kin terms the feature that in complex terms they are always the first of the two forms; terms of compadrazgo combine with

571 192 601 551 these two sets of terms only as the second term but always precede names, role names, and teknonymous constructions. General relationship terms are like the terms of compadrazgo in that they may be specified by a personal name (as above).

"Role names"

571 192 554 The set of terms to which we apply the label "role names" is distinguished by the fact that these terms usually occur unpossessed and are not defined in terms of a relationship to some person. While they occasionally have possessive prefixes, they never occur in the third person in coordinating constructions. Also, when possessed, these forms always carry the agentive prefix /-H-/, which is optional in the unpossessed variants. Thus:

| Unpossessed | Possessed |
|---|---|
| /PRESIRENTE/ /H-PRESIRENTE/ "presidente" | /*AW-AH-PRESIRENTE/ "your presidente" |
| /H-*UL/ "curandero" | /*AW-AH-*UL/ "your curandero" |

Among the forms in this class is /(H)KAX(1)AN(-ETIK)/, "ladinos (as a class)," which contrasts with the elicited from /H-TUL H-LUMAL/, "one of my pueblo (Aguacatenango)." (Both forms are included under the headword /KRISTYANO-ETIK/, "human being," which contrasts with /CAMBALAM-ETIK/, "animals," and /TUTU-TIK/, "things.")

# Chapter 4

# Family Authority and Community Control

All residents of the center consider themselves to be "true men" descended from the ancestors who lived in the cave. In Murdock's terminology (1965:63), the Indian community constitutes a *deme*, or local group of genealogically related residents who cannot trace the exact kinship tie. This sense of kinship sustains a model of paternal authority for assigning positions of power and prestige in the wider community. The key to persistence of the Indians as a culturally distinct population lies in these age-ordered hierarchies sanctioned by the ancestors and the elders who act as their intermediaries. The reward for remaining within the social control system is security and the right to their guardianship; the sanction against violating the norms is exile or exposure to the evil spirits they hold at bay.

The bilateral extension of age-relative collateral terms to all members of the same side of the dual division is a successful adaptation of the kinship model to the government of a compact nucleated community. The system of terminology is similar to that of the neighboring nucleated settlement of Aguacatenango which shares many of the same features of behavior (Hunt n.d., Metzger in Romney 1967:231). These systems are closer to those of the Coatlan Mixe (Merrifield and Hoogshagen 1961) and the Chinantec of Palantla (Merrifield 1959) than they are to the nearby Tzeltal-speaking communities of Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes 1947) and Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947). In the case of the Mixe and Chinantec, the strong emphasis on relative age is correlated with age-graded positions in the political-religious hierarchy (Merrifield 1959, Merrifield and Hoogshagen 1961:225).[1] The lineage-clan pattern found in the vacant center, or *paraje*,

1. In the Coatlán, Oaxaca case of Mixe Indians cited by Merrifield and Hoogshagen (1961) they state that the classificatory terms utilizing the criteria of age relative to ego

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



type of communitives such as Oxchuk and Cancuc depends on communal land holding and contiguity in residence of the agnatic kin. The corporate identity of these groups is breaking down with the fragmentation of land holdings and movement of men from the paraje of their fathers (Guiteras Holmes 1947, Villa Rojas 1946).

Symmetrical bilateral extension of kinship terms can be seen in Figure 3. Relative age modifies generation in terms for collaterals. In ego's generation, older brother and sister are distinguished from younger siblings. In parents' generation, siblings of father younger than father are referred to and called elder brother or sister, and those older than father are called father or mother. In grandparent's generation, siblings older than grandparent are called grandfather or grandmother, and those younger than grandparent are called father and mother. If the grandparent should die, leaving only a younger sibling, the term grandparent is used referentially and vocatively. There is no sex distinction made between siblings or collaterals younger than ego in the referential terminology. Referential terminology for lineals younger than ego does not make sex distinctions, but the distinction may be made with one's own children by using the possessive form of the vocative term, such as "my little man" (*htatil*) or "my little woman" (*ḳantzil*). Women refer to their children with the term *ʔalal*. The stem *ʔal* signifies the verb to give birth. Men refer to their children as *niẖ'an*. The collective term for children of both parents combines the two terms in a possessive form, *ḳalniẖ'an*, our children.

The bilateral system of Amatenango is not in conformity with the Spanish model. Along with similar systems mentioned for Aguacatenango, Coatlan, and Palantla, it differs from the Spanish model in that collaterals in ascending generations are classified with lineal relatives, and age relative to ego modifies generational separation. These systems appear to be an

obscures that of generation. Just as in Tzoʔontahal, all members of the community address others they meet on the street with the term indicating age relationship to ego, and grandfather and grandmother terms are reserved for the very old. The authors conclude that this terminological behavior reflects the rigid age-grading found in social groups throughout the community. I would venture a generalization that requires further research to the effect that age-grading provides a pattern for appropriate behavior among members of endogamous, closely settled communities whereby conflict is reduced by channeling competition for prestigeful positions.

adaptation to conditions imposed by nucleated compact settlement which may have been prehispanic. 174 601 602

Terminology for affinals differs according to the sex of speaker and the age and generation of referent. Men refer to brother's wife, wife's brother's 601

Fig. 3. Kinship Terms for Consanguineal Relatives

| Generation | Collateral Male | Lineal Male | Lineal Female | Collateral Female |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Older than grandparent | Mam | Mam | Me⁷čč | Me⁷čč |
| Younger than grandparent | Tat | | | Me⁷ |
| +2 | | | | |
| Older than parent | Tat | Tat | Me⁷ | Me⁷ |
| Younger than parent | Bankil (šⁱ⁷lel) | | | Wil |
| +1 | | | | |
| Older than ego | Bankil (šⁱ⁷lel) | EGO | | Wil |
| Younger than ego | Kihtz'in | | | Kihtz'in |
| −1 | | | | |
| | Kihtz'in | Nič⁷an (Alal) | | Kihtz'in |
| −2 | | | | |
| | Kihtz'in | Mam nič⁷an | | Kihtz'in |

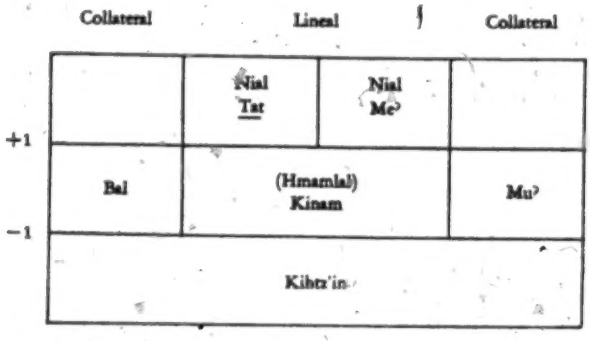
Terms in parentheses are female spoken terms.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



601 wife, and wife's sister with the term *mu?*. This same term is used by women to refer to sister's husband, and to husband's brother. Men refer to sister's husband, wife's brother and wife's parents' brothers as *b'al*, while women refer to brother's wife and husband's sister as *ha?wan*. The rule is that siblings-in-law of opposite sex of speaker are classified as mu? and siblings-in-law of same sex as speaker are differentiated by sex of speaker so that men classify them as b'al and women classify them as ha?wan. Parents-in-law are referred to as *tat ni?al* and *me? ni?al* and called father and mother. Wives of sons and brothers' sons are referred to as *kalib'* by men.

Fig. 4. Kinship Terms for Affinal Relatives




Underlined term is vocative.

Affinal terminology is not applied to spouses of parents' siblings; the terms for father and mother or elder sister and elder brother, depending on their age relative to ego, are extended to them (Fig. 4).

601 The term for assistant in a ceremony, *b'alni?al*, using the combined 796 terms for ego's generation and parental generation in-laws, may indicate 794 that this group formerly served in household ceremonies. They are still 174 called upon for assistance, but nonrelated neighbors and compadres or 592 godchildren may also assist and the same term is applied to all.

571 Significant reference groups are designated by the Spanish derived terms 197 *yermanotak*, *kumparetak*, and *bersinatak*. The yermanotak is comprised 192 of siblings, their spouses, and siblings of parents; the term is derived from the Spanish *hermanos;* kumparetak, meaning the ritual co-parents, is a

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Compadres, or ritual kin, are the next most important pool from which to draw assistance. The same restrictions on exchanges between actual kin apply to those between ritual kin. The one task which is confined to brothers and not extended to compadres is that of house-building.

Relationships between members of the household are defined by daily work tasks, commensality, sharing a living space, and participation in the same ceremonial events. The same rules which govern behavior in the family are extended to the wider community. The extension of the terms elder brother and elder sister, father and mother, and younger sibling to all of the people in one's own side of the dual division implies a pattern of behavior similar to that of the family. The fundamental equation in social relations is age-respect-deference-prestige.

The bilaterally extended kinship group provides the pattern structuring relations throughout the community. It is a framework allowing wide choice in selecting individuals with whom ceremonial and work relations are contracted. Relative age has superseded generation and descent as the principle governing relationships of authority and respect from the nuclear family to the hierarchy or community officials. These patterns will be traced in other institutions in following chapters.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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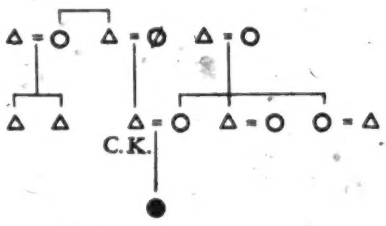
608 but on other occasions they are as likely to be chosen from among peers of the parents.

608 The occasions on which the first informant in Table 20 acquired compa-
571 dres are spelled out in the following diagrams to show the growth of the
[28] network of compadrazgo relations in the course of a lifetime.

608 *Compadres of C. K., sixty-five-year-old man.* C. K. chose as com-
571 padres on the occasion of the baptism of his first child an older man who
852 lived in the same section of town. The diagram shows the composition of
602 the baptismal party. The darkened symbol in this and the following dia-
[601] grams represents the child baptized.

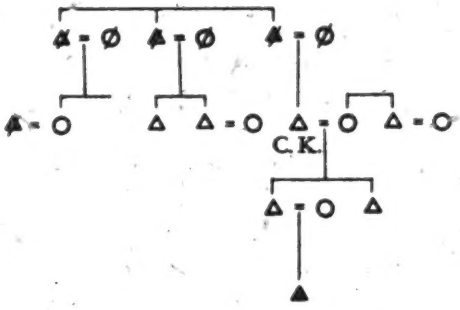



C. K. addresses all of the guests by the term "compadre" and refers to the group as "kumparetak." The second child has the same padrino, and the same group of relatives attended the ceremony. For the third child, C. K. chose a Ladino shopkeeper from the neighboring town. He chose him because, "I sold wheat to him, and I saw he was honorable." C. K. had a house fiesta to which the shopkeeper came with his wife. This is somewhat unusual and occurred because the compadre was from another town. C. K. chose as the padrino of his fourth child another Ladino he knew in the same town, but the padrino did not attend the house fiesta to which only his sister, her husband, and her husband's brother came. A woman prayer-reciter of the same section was chosen as *madrina* of his fifth and sixth child when C. K. was fiscal. A younger man of the same section was chosen as the padrino of the seventh child. C. K. helped his son select the padrino of a grandson born in his house, a man from the same section.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 120 ]

608 571 602 852 [601]

section. Attending this house fiesta was the group of relatives represented in the diagram.




The relatives assembled are essentially the same as those who attended the birth of C. K.'s first child. They are the core of the me?iltatil for his family, a core which expands to include additional compadres and neighbors for special house rituals. The second and third grandchildren had as padrino a man from the opposite section.

In summary, C. K. has chosen four Indian compadres and two Ladino compadres for the baptisms of his own children. Other members of the me?iltatil who became compadres on these occasions include five men and three women who are bilateral and affinal relatives.

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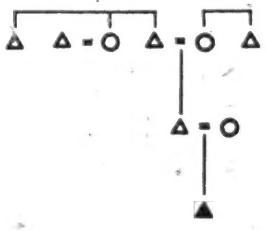
C. K. has been asked to be padrino of baptism by four persons:

1. A neighbor asked him to be padrino of his child. At a small fiesta, he became compadre of the father and godfather of the child.

2. A man from the opposite section asked him to be padrino of his son's child, and he acquired the group of compadres shown in the diagram.

[601]



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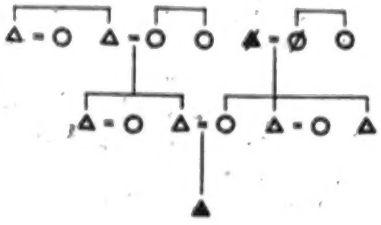
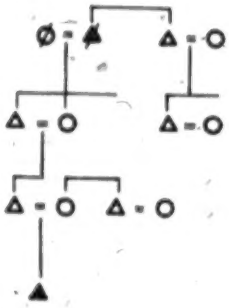
3. A man of the same section asked him to be padrino, and he acquired 6 compadres and 7 comadres.



4. A man of same section asked him to be padrino, and he acquired 5 compadres and 5 comadres.



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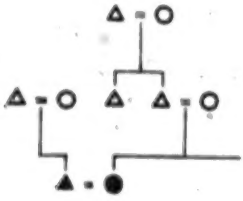
He has been asked to be padrino of marriage ceremonies, also by four parties. The darkneed symbols represent the individuals married.

1. A man of the same section.

[601]



7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



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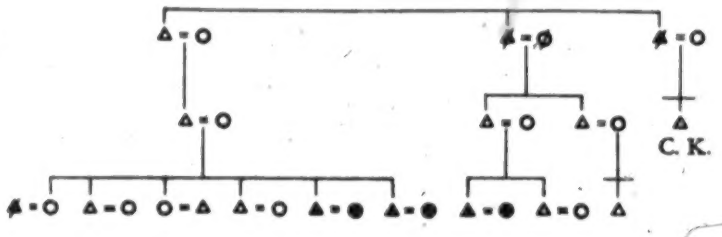
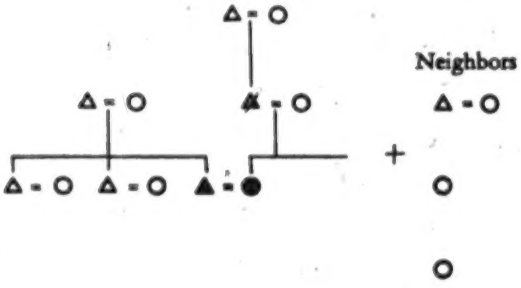
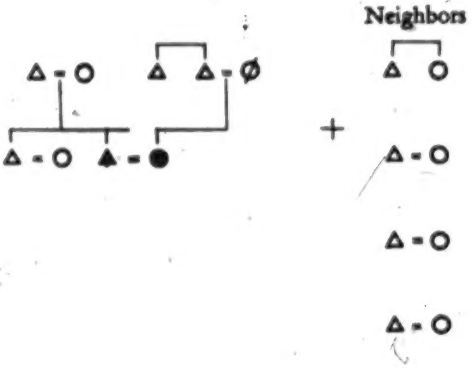
2. The sons of his brother's son.




3. A neighbor's son.




4. A man of the same section.



7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



*as errand boys and assistants. A third group are the* ʔkoltawanchetik, *the female helpers, usually wives of the b'alnialetik or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors,* yulatak, *who come to congratulate the new official.* [*The visitors at the house of the first judge are shown in Figure 7.*]

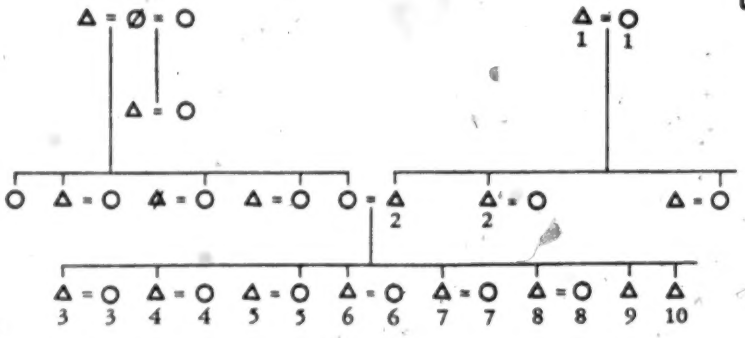
*The new official addresses the first nakawane with the following speech:*

*Official: "Holy evening, Mamtat, to your health."*

*Nakawane: "Holy evening, Mamtat, to your health."*

*Official: "Lord, how are you, Mamtat? You are alive, word of God, this holy evening. There is no illness behind your heart."*

Fig. 7. Relatives at House of First Judge on Eve of Inauguration




*Nakawane: "I live. I feel no illness."*

*Official: "Lord Mamtat, give pardon with God, with the Virgin Mother. Give holy pardon your mothers, your fathers, with God.*

*"Give pardon, Lord, give pardon. Virgin mother. Here we are gathered before you where we are seated, our soil, our mud.*

*"How are we going to succeed in what we will have to do in this holy new year for our patron Lord? Here again in the dawning of the holy hour, let us look into our heart, there where we are going to receive the holy oath inside the holy cold house, the cold hall, where we go receive the work and suffering of the holy staff, the holy wand this holy day, this*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



write beliefs that give coherence to these roles. Whether these events continue to be scheduled, and in the process of being presented "prove" the postulates upon which structural relationships are based, depends upon acceptance of the belief system.

A fundamental understanding governing behavior in Tzo?ontahal is that people ought to do as the ancestors did. Both "knowing" and "remembering" are expressed by the same verb, *ya sna,* while "learning" and "memorizing" are expressed by the verb *ya snop*. The behavioral corollary of this association between knowing and remembering is that one should accept the word of the ancestors as a guide to behavior. The importance of obeying one's elders as the intermediaries in the transfer of ways of behaving from one generation to another is stressed in child training and is restated in the prayers uttered at ritual performances enacting the ways of the ancestors.

In this chapter I shall consider the integration of behavior based on roles, personality, codes of morality and etiquette, and the ideological and behavorial changes which are disturbing this system.

## The Role System

Coherence of the role system in Tzo?ontahal depends upon (1) similar premises for role recruitment and continuity in transition from one role to another; (2) alternation in office and linkage of separate domains by special offices; and (3) standardized etiquette of role interaction. Uniform standards of evaluation of performance provide a sanctioning system ensuring social integration.

*Recruitment and transition.* Relative and chronological age combined with consideration of sex are the fundamental principles for assigning role categories. The age principle categorizes the entire town in role pairs of respect and deference. Sex differentiation is not made in children until after infancy. An infant of either sex is called *?unin,* also a term for the new moon, until the age of eight months. The sex of parent rather than that of the child is designated: a woman calls her offspring *?alal* whether boy or girl, and a man calls his offspring *nič'an*. Sex distinction is

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



made in speaking of toddlers: boys are called *htatil* and girls *ḳantzil*. After five years of age, a boy is referred to as *č'in ḳerem*, "little boy" and a girl as *č'in ʔačiš*, "little girl." The term for younger sibling, *ḳihtz'in*, which is extended to all of the people younger than oneself on one's own side of the dual division, is not sex marked, but the terms for all people older than oneself are. Sexual segregation begins at the age of five in sleeping arrangements as well as in public gatherings, when little boys stand with their fathers. The modifier "č'in" is dropped after the age of nine, and the terms "kerem" and "ačiš" are used until marriage. At the age of fifteen, a girl is referred to as *ʔantz wiltal*, "just arriving at womanhood," and when she is married she is classified as an *ʔantz*, or woman. A boy is referred to as a kerem until he is married, when he is called *ač' winiḳ* or "new man." A woman with children is referred to as *meʔeliš*, and is a full-fledged member of her sex, the *meʔil*. A man's reference term does not change with paternity. When a young unmarried man dies, people say with sorrow that it was a pity "he did not try out life," and that "he did not try out a woman."

In her youth a woman's role is tied to the reproductive cycle, but after menopause she is released from the restrictions of childbearing women. She need not appear as modest in public, and can drink and dance at fiestas. A noticeable personality change can be seen as women move out of the chrysalis of their reproductive cycle. Some older women begin to take a keen interest in sex, and widows in particular may have sexual relations with young unmarried men. It is after menopause that a woman takes her first role in ceremonials as a woman speaker.

In the man's life cycle, leadership roles are related to age. Paternal roles are the prototype for both familial and public authority positions. Thus the term for father, *tat* is the stem for the term for leader, *statal*.

In the relationship between the sexes, women are considered to be under the control of a male protector, either their father or husband. However, there is a kind of equality between the sexes which is not found in Ladino society. Usually there is only a small age difference between husband and wife, even in second marriages, and parents resist giving a young unmarried girl to an older previously married man. Mutual respect is stressed in the advice given by elders at marriage. There is no double standard for ex-

121 terminology from seven axioms. Goodenough (1951, 1956a, 1957) worked out a theoretical frame and its application to Trukese data and Pehrson's Lapp kinship data. Lounsbury (1956) analyzed Morgan's Pawnees schedule mainly as a linguistic exercise in the semantic aspects of the method. Romney (1957), Romney and Metzger (1957) and Romney and Epling (1958) discussed some of the relationships between operational principles, and presented a substantive analysis of data utilizing this frame, on the Zuni and Kariera. In Europe, a close approximation to the componential analysis method was applied by Meeussen and LeCoste (1955) on the Ngwana, and Vansina (1957) on the Bushoong.

121 128 In this paper the method is utilized only briefly, mainly because the presentation of the kinship terminology in a paradigmatic form simplifies the comparison between Amatenango and Aguacatenango (see Figs. 7 and 8). I do not claim, as have some of the previous authors, that the method generates an analysis of denotative semantics, nor that it is a truer picture of the whole kinship system.

128 601 I discuss the consanguineal address terminology because it is the only one used regularly by the villagers, and does not differ, except for the exclusion of two or three affinal terms, from the reference terminology.

121 The universe of kinship is a discrete unit only for the anthropologist. In some societies in the world, the number of individuals who receive the treatment of kinsmen is arbitrarily limited with some criteria other than the two basic biological elements of copulation and birth, and the social concomitants

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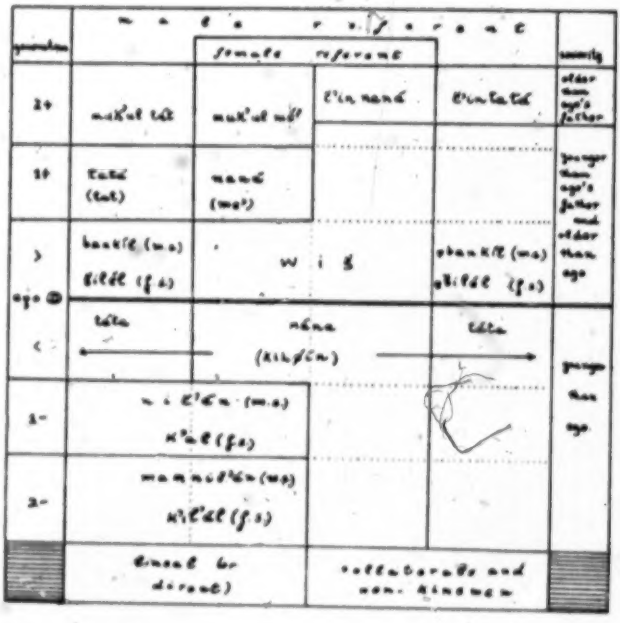


Fig. 7.--Aguacatenango Kinship Paradigm

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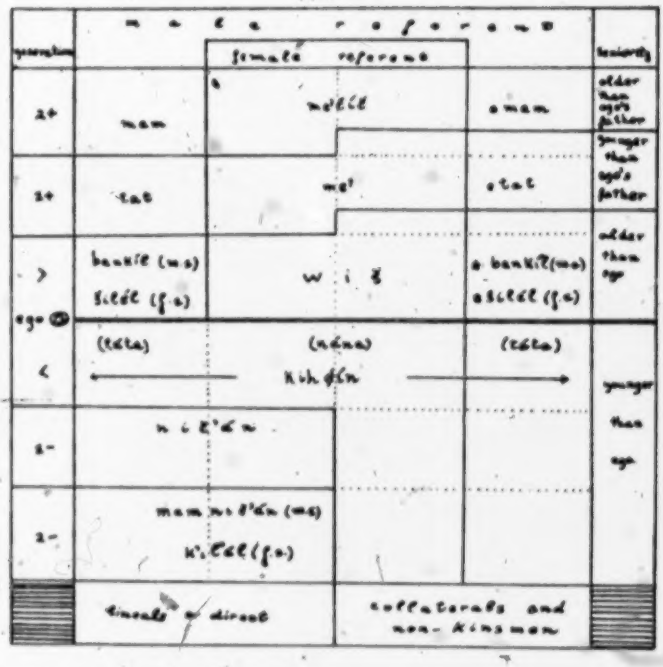


(#) term repeated
(m.s) male speaker
(f.s) female speaker

Fig. 8.--Amatenango Kinship Paradigm

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango



descent and affinal relations derived therefrom. But for some other societies, the number of persons and the distance (biological or social) between people to which kinship terms can be applied is infinite. Furthermore, some societies do not distinguish between the criteria of kinship and territoriality in defining group relationships, or the application of kinship terms. Among the Nuer, for example, an individual thinks of distance between lineages in terms of both descent links and territorial propinquity. Among the Chamula of Chiapas, the word for kinsman (meaning my family) and the word for co-villagers (other Chamulas) is the same. Homonyms do not necessarily imply that the people connect the two concepts expressed in the same word, nor that there is a single concept to cover both, but in the Nuer as well as the Chamula case, this is so.

601 The way in which the kinship terminology is applied in Amatenango and Aguacatenango suggests an infinite extension of the kinship terminology into the universe of non-kinsmen. For this reason, we will indicate how each kinship term is applied by the natives for "real kinsmen" (that is, to those recognized by the natives as such, and genealogically connected through birth and/or marriage) and to other villagers by extension or analogy. This becomes an important distinction because the kinship terminology is not, as anthropologists assume for most other cases, a terminological system to isolate, on the basis of linguistics, the kinsmen from the non-kinsmen. In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, the so-called kinship terminology is both kinship terminology and a terminological system to indicate social

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango



601 differentiation based on some other criteria which are not descent or affinity.

[114] The "kinship terms" of Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a Hawaiian type (Murdock, 1949) system, and do not suggest, as Murdock indicated for the Tzeltal as a whole, the characteristics of a Normal Omaha (Murdock, 1955:228-31).

The main emphasis on classifying others from the point of view of Ego are relative age (seniority and generation) and sex. All discriminations made in the addressing of individuals are of a bilateral nature. More contrasts are made for the older than for the younger generation of Ego. This gives the impression that the societies face "upwards," which is confirmed by the behavior of the villagers in many dimensions of their social action, by being consistent with the terminological usages within and outside the kin group.

The classificatory principles which underlie the uses of terms are, for the society at large: seniority, generation relative to Ego, and sex, both of addressee and speaker.

When the terms are restricted to "real kinsmen," the number of terminological distinctions is expanded, so some other principles are used. The principles are:

1. Seniority
   a) Younger than Ego
   b) Older than Ego, younger than Ego's father
   c) Older than Ego, older than Ego's father
2. Sex of the addressee
3. Lineal versus collateral

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

• 601



4. Generation

5. Sex of the speaker

Seniority combines in Aguacatenango with generation and linearity to separate Ego's own parents, Ego's own grandparents, Ego's own children and grandchildren from collaterals of the same relative ages and from non-kinsmen, but brothers and sisters are not distinguished from cousins or from other kinsmen or non-kinsmen of the same relative age and generation.

In Amatenango, only Ego's own children and grandchildren are distinguished from collaterals or others, which merges the core of the conjugal family (father and mother) and the domestic group with the rest of the kinsmen.

The most important distinction, among those lineals of Ego's own generation and collaterals, is the relative order of birth with respect to Ego and Ego's father. The sex of both the speaker and the addressee is added to relative age.

The extension of the kinship terms to non-kinsmen (i.e., those who are not included in the particular kinship group recognized by Ego) is on a society-wide basis. People are addressed by "kin terms" for a multitude of purposes: (1) to show respect in greeting; (2) to suggest that the person addressed with the kin term is expected to behave somewhat like the kinsmen who, according to genealogical placement, is called by the term; (3) to indicate social distance to juniors, and the expected deference and obedience from them, etc. It is common, for example, to salute an elderly woman with the term <u>cinnaná</u>, or to call a man from whom one is asking a favor by the term <u>bankil</u>.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango



601 In Aguacatenango, where the distinction between collaterals and lineals is implicit in the terminology, non-kinsmen are usually addressed by the collateral terms, thus indicating distance between lineal relatives and others.

The terminological system is so widely applied that there is no possibility of separating the range of kinsmen from non-kinsmen by observing only terminological usages. The only way to make the distinction is: (1) to observe the particular behavior of Ego towards others; (2) to ask each particular Ego whom, among those which he addresses with kin terms, he considers genealogically connected with him. This any Ego is able to do. So therefore, although the terminology used suggests that kinship is not the main differentiation, in terms of other behavior the distinction is clearly specified.

The use of affinal terms is presently restricted to parents and children-in-law, and the others are merged with the consanguineal terms. Even then, if the relationship between in-laws is affectionate and they live in the same household or in close proximity, they address each other with the consanguineal terms.

184 Although the terminology in the two villages is practically
601 identical, the Amatenango kinship usages suggest a more emphatic bilateral-generation systematization of kinship terms for both kin and non-kin. I can suggest that the relationships established in the household (core of the kin group) in Amatenango, are consistent with more emphasis in bilaterality, while in Aguacatenango, where the basic kinship relations of the individual are lineal

184 ones, the terminology consistently emphasizes the distinction
60 between direct and collateral relatives. In that sense, and only in that sense, the terminology usage reflects the consistency between the linguistic realm and the non-linguistic behavior realms, a consistency which has been assumed by many anthropologists to be axiomatic.

561 562 The Ordering of Social Relations

In both communities relative age and sex are important in the structuring of social relations within the household and throughout the community. The exact chronological age of an individual is often unknown, but his relative age, with respect to siblings, cousins, relatives and other people who live close by, is always known. Any two individuals can always place each other in terms of seniority or order of birth.

561 Children are classified as those who are still at the mother's breast and cannot walk (husul 'it), small walking children (kosh kerem), pre-adolescents (hc' iel), and adolescents of marriageable age (tek' el). Married men are distinguished by whether they have children, by whether they have or do not have an independent household, and by the number of cargos they have passed in the government. Mature men are classified as still being active in the civil-religious hierarchy or as being pasados. Pasados are separated into those who are just old (mamal) and those who are principales.

858 Little babies and small children are not always counted as part of the household because they die so easily. They can have their souls "stolen" by other children who are still in their

883 (gang), containing males from the age of about twelve to the time
562 they marry. They usually sleep together in one of the escuadrilla
573 member's house corridor, and spend long nights playing the harmonica, having corn eating competitions or serenading.

562 A man is not considered a full-fledged community member
885 until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father
851 have the same root: tat), which allows him to take the lower
601 post in the government (policía). The government itself is an
621 age-graded organization in which the kinship terms of elder and
621 younger brother are used reciprocally, and by extension, by of-
561 ficers in lower and higher posts.
601

562 With the passing of time, both men and women increase their
593 status by raising a family and by passing to higher positions in
621 the civil-religious hierarchy. Although women do not participate
794 directly in the government, they have some duties as officer's wives (e.g., ironing the Saint's clothes if their husbands are Mayordomos), and they are called by their husband's titles. A man may resign from office if his wife dies and there is no other adult woman in the household who can take care of her part of the officer's performance.

184 The first noticeable difference in the ordering of social
562 relations in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women
592 in the domestic group.

184 In Aguacatenango, the eldest male is the head of the
562 household. He controls the land which the men of the household
462 work, the cattle, the labor of the household members and most of
592 the money obtained through the sale of surplus corn (which is

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango



159 indicated that "she did not live in the house, nor was the boss
592 there." Margarita knew the price at which to sell, but she told
437 off the merchant, in quite a rude manner, and even refused to
602 let him see the animal "because she was sure that the man was
going to give it the evil eye and get it sick."

[601]

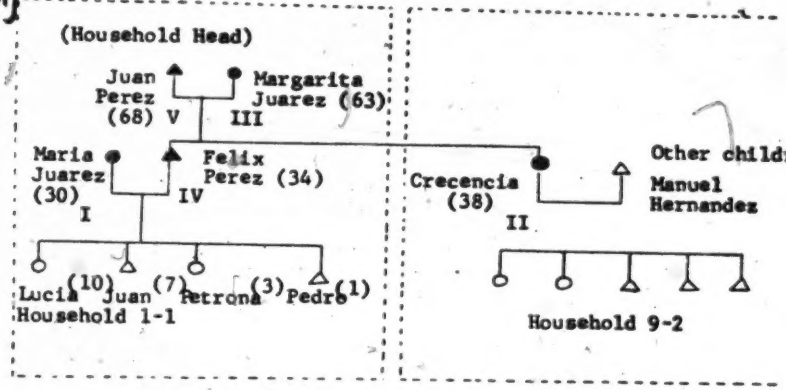


Fig. 9.--Genealogy of Household of Juan Perez

The Ladino merchant utilized every policy of charm and threat, trying to get them to sell the animal, but he began to relize that it was getting him nowhere. None of the women, not even the female head of the household, felt that she could take the responsibility for the business transaction.

When the merchant was ready to leave, Felix arrived. At this point, Felix took up the bargaining. When he could not get the price his father wanted, he resolved that the merchant should

591 patrilocality at a young age, just as filialocality is the complementary form of female matrilocality. If we compare the percentages of distribution of both forms, we can observe that the complementarity is expressed in similar distributions.

| | Per cent | | Per cent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Patrilocal | 72 | Filiolocal | 60 |
| Matrilocal | 23 | Filialocal | 20 |
| Other | 5 | Other | 20 |

This distribution of filiolocality occurs because the norm is to reside with the son to whom one has given the house, but also because in making a choice between relatives with whom to live, it is preferred to choose a male and not a female line. In some cases, consequently, it is preferred to live with a brother rather than with a daughter.

[586] [592] Children of divorced mothers become members of the household where the mother resides after the divorce. If the mother dies while she is still married to the children's father, the 587 591 children become members of the father's parents' household. When a man remarries, he usually does not bring his children from [183] previous marriages to his wife. We have only one case of a child living with the father after the father's second marriage. The reasons for this anomalous case are individual ones. The child's father's mother is the only other relative alive, besides the father, and she resides in the same household. The fact that the paternal grandmother and not the father is the sponsor of the [601] child, is clear from the information attached to the case. The child, a girl, sleeps with the grandmother and calls her mother.

591 587 [601] [183] The stepmother refers to her as "my husband's child," and she did not count her, when giving census information, among the children of her household, but as a child living with "my husband's mother." Another characteristic that makes this case [848] anomalous is that this stepchild was born of an extra-marital relation between the father and another woman, while the father was already married to the stepmother.

593 591 587 [428] The rationale given by the people when asked the reasons why a father does not keep his children with him, is that "stepmothers are no good." It is possible that one of the main forces operating behind this arrangement is the possibility of conflict over inheritance rights of stepchildren. By assigning rights and duties towards stepchildren only to stepfathers, it is implied that a man marrying a woman with children takes not only a wife, but the economic and jural responsibilities of being a father, including the duty of making them his heirs. We do not have, at the moment, sufficient information to support this point, and it is only given here as a suggestion for future inquiry.

591 592 423 426 These alternative rules of residence explain the composition of the compound households made up of the remnants of two or more original nuclear families, except for the cases in which people are living in borrowed houses. In one of the two cases in our sample, a house was "borrowed" from a brother of the husband's father. The family living in this compound is a very large one, twelve members, with only two males who are of working age, and very poor by Aguacatenango standards. The male head is an orphan who lived before marriage with his mother's mother and

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

## CHAPTER VII

## CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

### Historical Perspective

It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized, and they had important social functions. The heads of linear segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of two types. On the one hand, there is some historical documentation in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango



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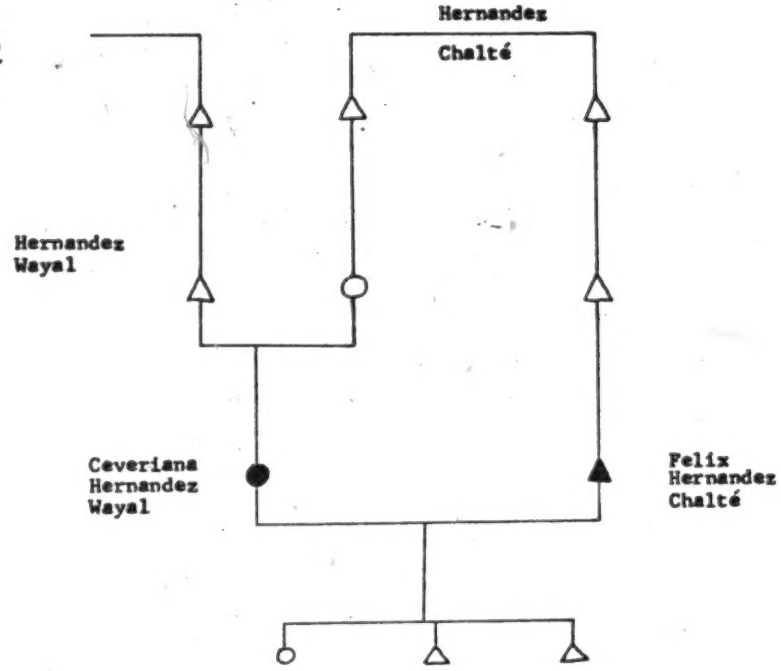


Fig. 14.--Genealogy of Hernandez

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango



Household 24-7

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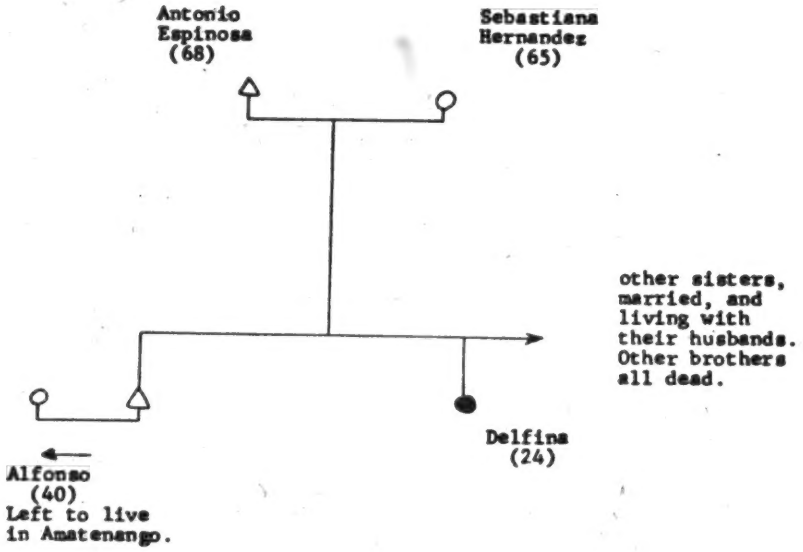


Fig. 15.--Genealogy of Delfina Espinosa

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango



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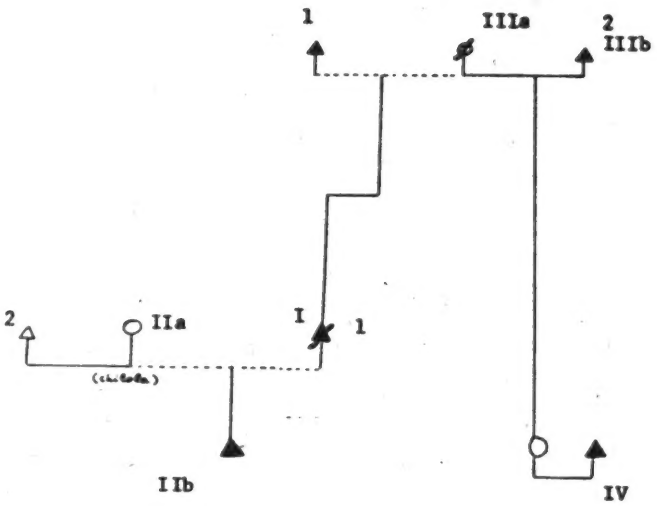


= men that claimed rights over the land.

I to IV indicate the order in which the land has been transmitted. The two men in the youngest generation are the ones contesting each other's rights.

Fig. 16.--Genealogy of Chilola M.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango



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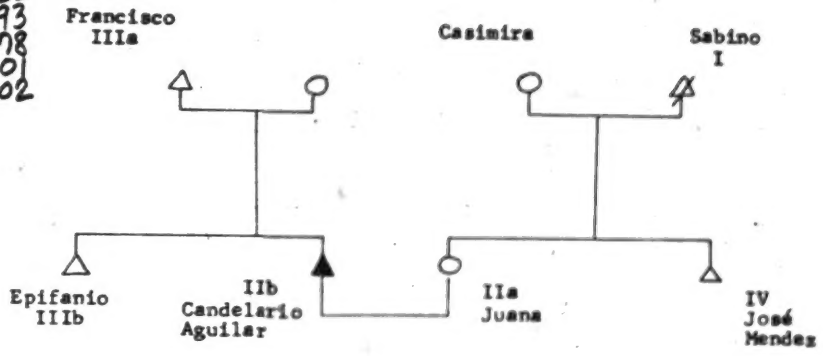


I to IIb indicate the order in which the bull was transmitted.

IIb-IIIb indicate the order in which cow and calf were transmitted.

IV is the man that pretends to have rights over the animals, with his mother's support.

Fig. 17.--Genealogy of Candelario Aguilar

activities. Following this, he then serves as *tatil* of any saint of minor rank, then as *tatil* of San Pedro Martyr or San Francisco, followed by a turn as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Virgin Santa Lucia, and finally as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Sacramento.

The Tzeltal role terms in both the civil and religious hierarchies reveal the preconquest age-ranking system. This is evident in the use of elder and junior

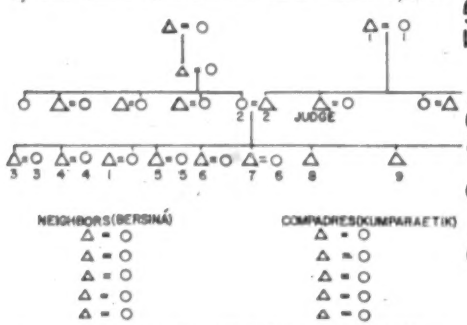


CHART 3 — ASSISTANTS AND PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSE FIESTA OF JUDGE (ELICITED)

Circles indicate women; triangles indicate men. For role term applying to number, see Chart 4.

titles for mayordomos (*tatil* and *niẽ' anil martoma*) and in the use of *mas mamalil* (more senior) for higher rank offices.

The informant's understanding of the hierarchy is that of a core of officeholders in three ranked segments (Chart 1). This is coded in the group terms for officials. Roles peripheral to the major categories such as those of rural judges, fiscal and women prayer-makers, are elicited only with repeated questioning or with reference to some event in which they function. These roles differ from those mentioned first in that they are either of little significance to the individual informant (this would explain the consistent omission of the rural judge by the people of the center) or are not part of the required posts incumbent upon every male household head to undertake (this might explain the omission of the president, síndico, principales and fiscales in the first eliciting session). Structural principles made explicit by the informants are (1) hierarchical rank, (2) progression from lower to higher posts, and (3) territorial balance in representation of the dual division. An implicit corollary of passage through offices beginning with lower ranks is the age grading of officeholders. Other structural aspects emerged in the description of behavior, described below.

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the new officials are publicly defined before overlapping sets of participants and observers. Within each setting, the multiple sets of relationships which determine the individual's selection for a role are indicated in Appendix 3.

It has often been stated of Guatemalan and Mexican highland Maya communities that public office is an undertaking of the household. The precise dimensions of this support have yet to be defined in an activity context. Visitors and helpers in the household celebration provide one such context in which the parameters of the aid can be defined (Charts 2, 3, 4). Primary support is given by the official's wife, without whom he would not be serving in the hierarchy.[8] She serves him by waiting for him in the house, taking care of the money he might have to guard as a civil official, and watching him while he is drunk from the bouts in the townhall so that he will not harm himself by falling in the fire or be harmed by his enemies. His advisors and councilors in the household are the *nakawanehetik*.[9] These are men who have passed through some of the civil offices —at least those of *alferez* and first regidor—and who are somehow related to the new official.[7] A second group of supporters in the household serve as errand boys and assistants, the *balnialetik*. They are chosen from among brothers, brothers-in-law,[8] sons, *compadres* (ritual co-parents), godchildren, and neighbors. A third group are the *ikoltawanehetik*, the fe-

[8] Innumerable instances attest to the significance of the wife in officeholding. For example, at the final ceremony in a betrothal, the boy is advised by his elders that now he will be called to serve the pueblo. Or, in the court case of a judge whose wife wished to leave him because he had beaten her, the other judges counseled her to wait until he had completed his term of office.

[9] The term *nakawanehetik* may be derived from the honorific prefix *nak*, found in other Maya languages (Lal'arge, 1947). Another possibility is that it may be the stem *na*, 'house,' plus *kawanehetik*, tentatively glossed as 'officials.'

[7] In the case of the president (in the observed sequence) his father, who had passed through all the offices up to the first judge and had fulfilled his turns in the religious hierarchy as well, was the first *nakawane*.

[8] The term *bal* is generic for brother-in-law, *nial* for father-in-law, but whether this formerly had significance in the selection of assistance I do not know. At present, brothers-in-law are chosen along with others, such as godchildren or neighbors.

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ment, engrossed as I was in the task of eliciting the formal sequence of events, "Quiet, S.; let's get on with the fiesta." He persisted in what interested him. 124

Eleven years ago they [who? enemies?] tried to get me. I had a piece of land in hot country. My house here was not ready, but the wood was ready. M. C. a neighbor was jealous [*šil yo?tan*, 'saw his heart']. He had caused another neighbor's illness. He was my wife's *mu?* [literally 'brother-in-law,' in this case the informant's wife's fa's sis's husband]. He didn't have corn or beans. He was jealous because of my crops and the big house I was going to build. 124 578 [754] [601] [602]

By now I was asking questions and taking notes. I interposed, "How did you know?" 124 578 754 756

I knew because when I got sick, the curer (who was the dead husband of the widow who came to the judges' house) told me. The *cabron* (goat) witches leave their signature in the blood *(yak hilel firma ta čič?)*. Then I went to a curer in Chamula who confirmed it.

"How did he speak to you?" 124

In Tzotzil. Then I went to Las Casas. Another curer, also a Chamulteco, said, "Here is his signature in your blood. He is working alone." On January 7 I fell in bed. All month from January to the 19th of April I was very sick. I went to Cruz Quemada (colonia of Tzo?ontahal) where F. G. cured me. He burned candles at the curing arch and prayed. 578 755 756 [782]

"Whom did he pray to?"

The hills, the holy land. Then I got well, but I was very tired. My Swana [wife, Juana] told me "He is going to kill you." I had a rifle. I filled it and went out, but then I returned. Another day I took two measures of trago, took my rifle and went to his house. He was sleeping with his wife close to him in bed, the way we sleep here. I fired four times. The bullets went in his back and came out front. One entered the arm of his wife. Now people say of me I am a killer. I went to the townhall for the enquiry. The man's wife said the door [of the house] was open. She said she did not see me. Afterward I got well. If I hadn't killed him, I never would have lived. Now I am having more trouble first because of the cooperative, then because of my brother being president, and then the comisario. Let us see what will happen this year. If God lends us our life, there are going to be protests. We will walk with our pistols. Spet [wife of Ladino owner of opposing cooperative] gave 1000 pesos to a man from Magronal to kill me. 124 578 682

"How do you know?"

My compadre came and told me. Who knows how many deaths there will be!

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